DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 351 648 CG 024 651

AUTHOR Raven, Bertram H.
TITLE The Bases of Power: Origins and Recent Developments. A Presentation in Honor of John R. P. French on the Occasion of His Receiving the Kurt Lewin Award.
PUB DATE 17 Aug 92
NOTE [illegible].; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association (100th, Washington, DC, August 14-18, 1992).
AVAILABLE FROM Bertram H. Raven, Department of Psychology, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1563.
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Individual Power; *Interpersonal Relationship; Models; Psychological Patterns; Theories
IDENTIFIERS Lewin (Kurt); *Social Power

ABSTRACT

The history and background of the analysis of the basis of power is examined, beginning with its origins in the works of Kurt Lewin and his followers at the Research Center for Group dynamics. The original French and Raven (1959) bases of power model posited six bases of power: reward, coercion, legitimate, expert, referent, and informational (or persuasion). Since then, as the result of considerable research, the model has gone through very significant developments. A more comprehensive model is presented here which reviews: various motivations of the influencing agent (including the need for power, concern with personal image, etc.); an assessment of available power bases in terms of potential effectiveness, personal preferences values and norms, time perspective: consideration of other strategies such as manipulation; utilization of various preparatory and stage-setting devices to strengthen one's power resources; implementation of the power strategies; assessment of effectiveness of influence attempt and its positive and negative after-effects; use of various ameliorative devices; review and consideration and another round of influence strategies. The overall model is examined in terms of its applicability to various settings including: hospital infection control; patient compliance with physicians' recommendations; confrontations between political figures; children's influence on their peers; as well as supervisor/subordinate relationships. (Author)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED351648

THE BASES OF POWER:

ORIGINS AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

A Presentation in Honor of John R. P. French on the Occasion of his Receiving the Kurt Lewin Award

Bertram H. Raven
University of California, Los Angeles

Abstract: The history and background of the analysis of the basis of power is examined, beginning with its origins in the works of Kurt Lewin and his followers at the Research Center for Group dynamics. The original French and Raven (1959) bases of power model posited six bases of power: reward, coercion, legitimate, expert, referent, and informational (or persuasion). Since then, as the result of considerable research, the model has gone through very significant developments. A more comprehensive model is presented here which reviews: various motivations of the influencing agent (including need for power, concern with personal image, etc.); an assessment of available power bases in terms of potential effectiveness, personal preferences, values and norms, time perspective; consideration of other strategies such as manipulation; utilization of various preparatory and stage-setting devices to strengthen one's power resources; implementation of the power strategies; assessment of effectiveness of influence attempt and its positive and/negative after-effects; use of various ameliorative devices; review and consideration and another round of influence strategies. The overall model is examined in terms of its applicability to various settings including: hospital infection control; patient compliance with physicians' recommendations; confrontations between political figures; children's influence on their peers; as well as supervisor/subordinate relationships.

Prepared for presentation at the Centennial Convention of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C., August 17, 1992, as part of a Symposium in Honor of John R. P. French on his receiving of the Kurt Lewin Award from the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.

Requests for copies or further information may be addressed to:
Bertram H. Raven
Department of Psychology; UCLA
Los Angeles, CA 90024-1563

CG024651

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Bertram H. Raven
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

The Bases of Power: Origins and Recent Developments

A Presentation in Honor of John R. P. French on the Occasion of his Receiving the Kurt Lewin Award

Bertram H. Raven
Department of Psychology
University of California, Los Angeles

More than thirty years have now elapsed since John R. P. French and I presented a typological analysis of the bases of power in interpersonal influence (French & Raven, 1959; Raven, 1965, 1983). In this brief presentation, I should like to discuss the origins of this analysis and point to subsequent and future developments.

Kurt Lewin's Conception of Power

Those who are only familiar with recent works on the bases of power may not be aware of the extent to which our work was stimulated by the many insights of Kurt Lewin. Lewin's name is not ordinarily associated with social power, but even in his early writings the concept of power and power fields was in evidence. Lewin defined "power" as "'the possibility of inducing forces' of a certain magnitude on another person." Such power could extend over a broad span of that other person's potential activities, what Lewin would call the "power field" (Lewin, 1944/1951) In discussing the power of the adult over the child, he illustrated the adult's power field as a series of concentric circles, emanating from the adult and encompassing the life space of the child (Lewin, 1935, p. 131ff.), as can be seen in this illustration. (See Figure 1) In such a situation, he said,

---

Figure 1 about here

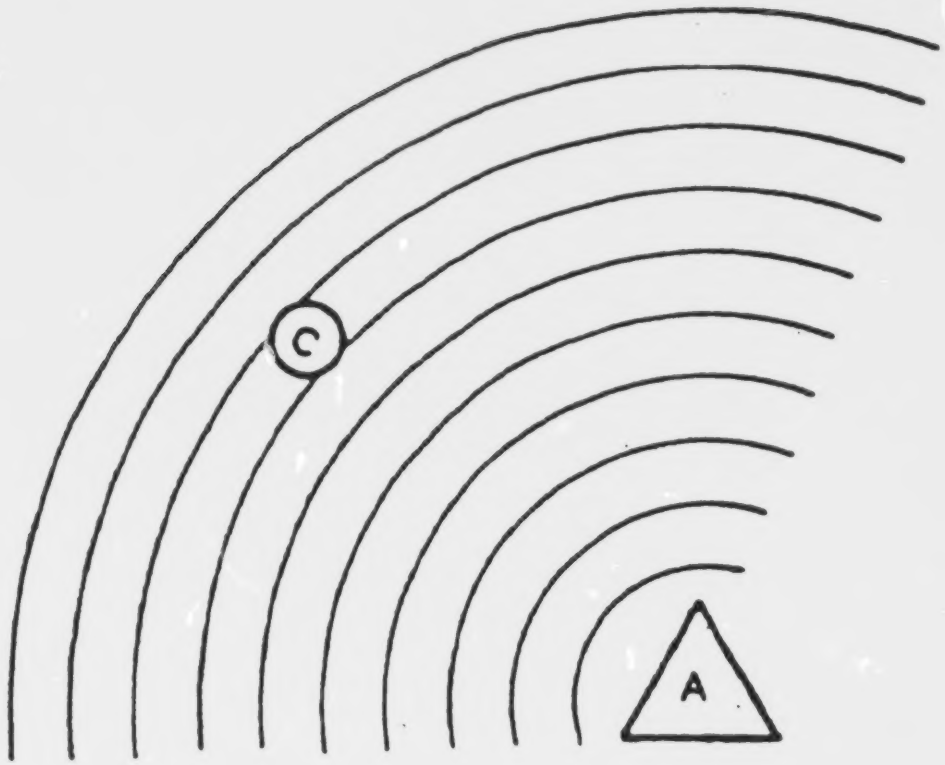

Figure 1. Kurt Lewin's conception of the power field of the adult (A) with respect to the child (C). (Lewin, 1935, p. 131)

"...The child may ... carry out unpleasant tasks unhesitatingly because at every point within his sphere of action he is internally controlled by the wishes of the adult..." (p. 132) Of course, a person may be simultaneously affected by the power of several persons, placing him or her under conflicting pressures. From a work of Leo Tolstoy, Lewin illustrated the conflicting pressures on a child from the power fields of his father, his grandmother, and his tutor. (Lewin, 1935, p. 148) (See Figure 2)

Figure 2 about here

As Lewin and his colleagues extended their interest to group dynamics, they paid increasing attention to the power of the group over the individual. Often, it seemed, an influencing agent, attempting to change the behavior of persons, would find that his/her influence attempts were countered by group norms in an opposing direction. It thus appeared that in such circumstances it would be more effective to influence the behavior of the members of a group collectively, rather than individually. This would be accomplished by presenting the reasons for change to the group collectively, encouraging the members to discuss the need for change, and then to arrive at a group decision to change. Such an approach proved effective in getting college students to eat more whole wheat rather than white bread; in getting mothers to serve more whole milk, orange juice, and cod liver oil to their children; encouraging the consumption of less desirable cuts of meat during a war

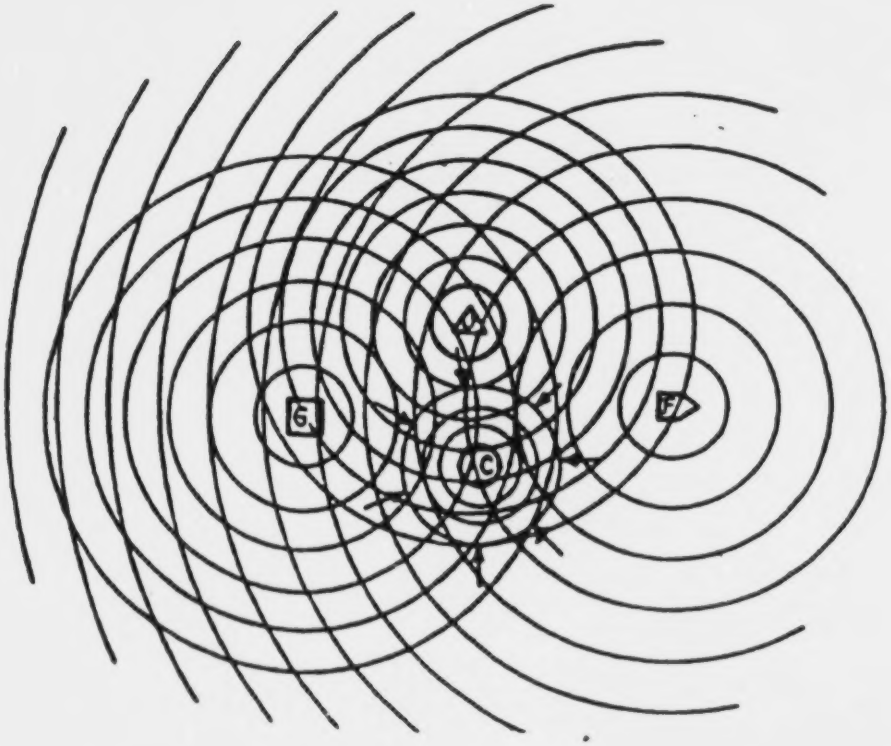

Figure 2. Kurt Lewin's conceptualization of the child (C) within the power fields of his father (F), his grandmother (G), and his tutor, St. Jerome (J), from a story by Tolstoy. (Lewin, 1935, pp. 146ff)

time meat shortage, and encouraging workers to change their method and rate of operation. (Lewin, 1947, 1952)

Power and Resistance to Change

Figure 3 about here

Jack French, and his colleague Lester Coch, found clear support for this approach to overcoming resistance to change by workers at the Harwood Manufacturing Corporation. The resistance to change came, they said, from a tendency to adhere to group standards which were opposed to the requests from management. Thus change in production rate was accomplished more effectively through full participation and decision by the workers involved, with concomitant changes in group standards, and much less effectively through the more common method of management simply giving the workers full explanations and reasons for the requested changes in their work behavior. "The no-participation procedure had the effect for the members of setting up management as a hostile power field." Mutual participation with management in decision making would operate like influence from a friend, such that the induced force would act more like an own force. (Coch & French, 1948)

The Focus on Power at the Research Center for Group Dynamics

In the 1950's, the emphasis on group influence continued at the Research Center for Group Dynamics, with Leon Festinger and his co-workers examining pressures toward uniformity in groups. (Festinger, 1950; Festinger, 1954) Meanwhile, Ronald Lippitt and his team focused on implications of his earlier classic work with Lewin and Ralph White

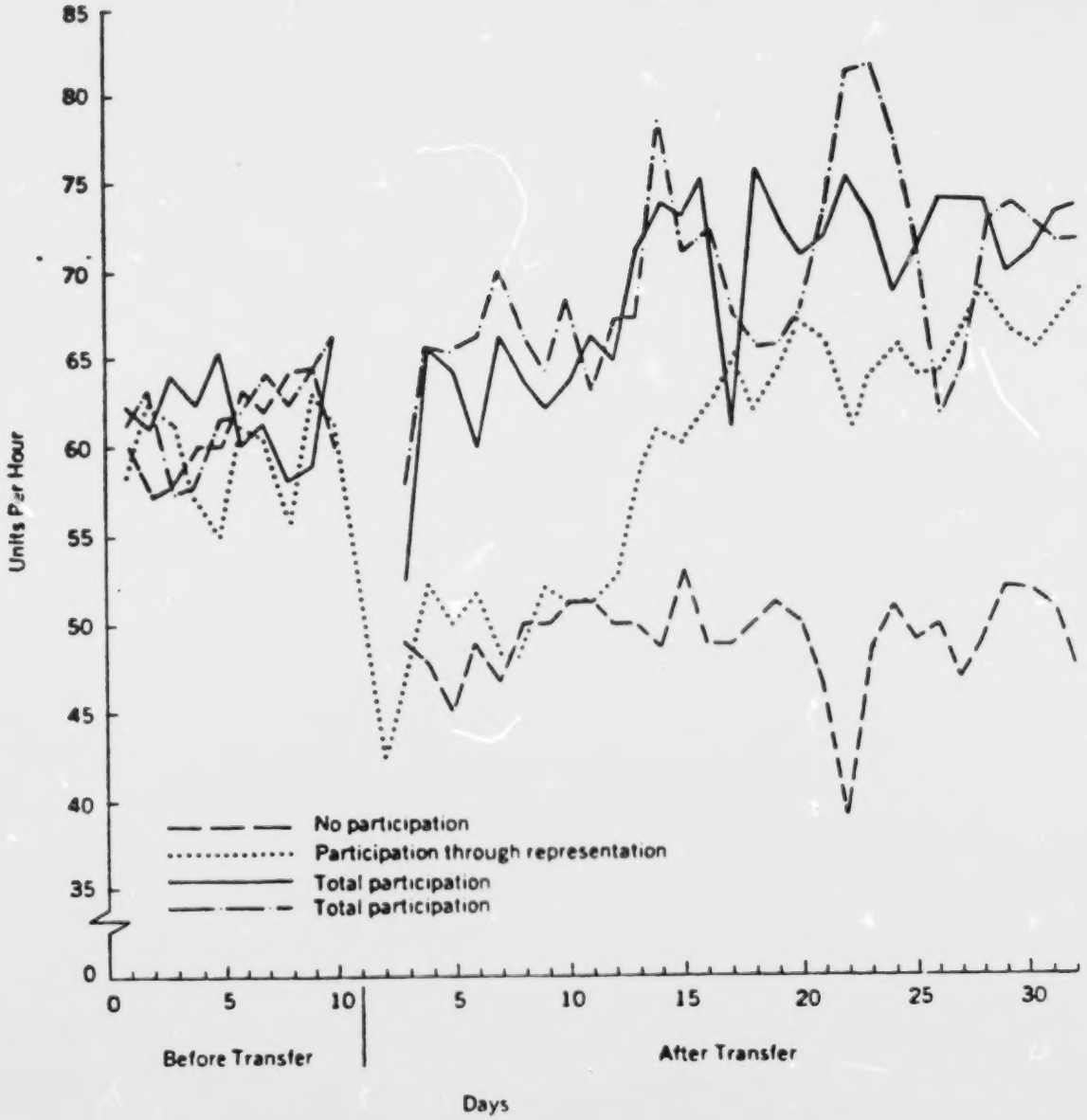

Figure 3. The Power of the Group. Resisting change advocated by management and overcoming resistance to change following participation of the work group in decision-making. From the Harwood Manufacturing Corporation study by Lester Coch and John R. P. French (1948)

on leadership styles(Lewin, Lippitt & White,1939). In studies of what they called "contagion" of behavior in youths in summer camps, they had explored the factors which led to some campers being seen as more influential, more powerful, than others. (Lippitt, Polansky, Redl, & Rosen, 1952) Alvin Zander and his group examined how people in lower power positions tend to behave defensively toward the powerful. (Hurwitz, Zander, & Hymovitch, 1953; Zander & Cohen, 1955) Such affects became particularly apparent in mental health teams consisting of psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychiatric social workers. (Zander, Cohen, & Stotland, 1959) Meanwhile, Frank Harary (Harary, 1959) joined Dorwin Cartwright in applying graph and matrix theory to the analysis of group structure, an approach which Jack French utilized quite effectively in his first analysis of power structure. (French, 1956)

In the Tuesday evening seminars at the Research Center for Group Dynamics, social power in interpersonal and group influence became a central theme. Dorwin Cartwright recognized our collective efforts and offered a unifying direction in his SPSSI Presidential Address, entitled "Power: A neglected variable in social psychology." (Cartwright, 1959)

Conceptualizing the Bases of Power

It was within this context that Jack French and I began to meet regularly to discuss the development of a general theory of social power. We defined social power as "potential influence," which we should note was very similar to Lewin's--"the possibility of inducing forces." Our approach then was to examine what sorts of resources a person might have, devices which s/he could draw upon to exercise influence. We began with a paper by Leon Festinger entitled "An analysis of compliant

behavior." (Festinger, 1953) Festinger pointed out that in certain occasions social influence in behavior will occur even though the influenced person would not privately accept that change. Such, he said, would be particularly likely when he or she was threatened with punishment for non-compliance and could not leave the situation. In that case, of course, it would be especially important that his/her compliance or non-compliance could be observed by the those exerting influence. On the other hand, a person who desires to remain in that social relationship will not only comply but privately accept the change as well. French would note that the latter situation was similar to those of the Harwood factory workers , where the "induced force" from the group became an "own force." The idea was not entirely new, but it stimulated French and me to examine together numerous examples of influence situations and their underlying dynamics.

We then determined that there were two important dimensions which determined the form or influence or compliance: (a) social dependence and (b) the importance of surveillance. We could readily think of examples in which one person, an influencing agent, could convince another with clear logic, argument, or information. Where, let us say, a supervisor would give his/her subordinates good reasons why a change in behavior might lead to greater productivity. Even though it was initially the communication from the agent that would produce the change, that change would become socially independent--the target of influence would completely accept, internalize the change, and the agent would become inconsequential. We called that informational influence. I also felt that the person who had the means to exert such influence

could be said to have informational power--though I was not able to convince French of this point.

The threat of punishment described by Festinger would lead to change which continued to be socially dependent upon the agent, but, as Festinger had pointed out, surveillance was important for such influence to be exercised. For example, the supervisor says, "Do the job this way or you will be demoted." In its potential, then, we referred to such a resource as coercive power. But, wouldn't there be a similar situation if the agent promised some sort of reward, an increase in pay or privileges in exchange for compliance? Reward power, then, would also be socially dependent, with surveillance important in order for its effects to continue.

So now we had two bases of power, coercive and reward, in which the change was socially dependent and where surveillance was important, and one, information, which was socially independent and where surveillance was unimportant. Could we conceive bases of power in which surveillance was unimportant, but where resulting changes were still socially dependent? We soon thought of three additional bases of power which would have such consequences: legitimate power (what others have called position power), expert power, and referent power. The concept of "legitimate power" came from Max Weber (1947): "After all, I am your supervisor, and you should feel some obligation to do what I ask." Expert power, has a long and distinguished history in research on opinion and attitude change: "Even if I may not explain to you the reasons, you must know that, after all, I know what is the best thing to do in such circumstances." The concept of referent power came

Table 1

The Six Bases of Social Power

Basis of Power	Social Dependence of Change	Importance of Surveillance
Coercion	Socially Dependent	Important
Reward	Socially Dependent	Important
Legitimacy	Socially Dependent	Unimportant
Expert	Socially Dependent	Unimportant
Reference	Socially Dependent	Unimportant
Informational	Socially Independent	Unimportant

from Sherif (1936), Newcomb (1958), and Merton (1957), though we could also see it in operation in many of the studies of group norms described earlier. The target of influence in such as case would comply because of a sense of identification with the influencing agent. The original six bases of power, then, are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 about here

Though we originally drew our examples from relationships between supervisors and subordinates, this typology has since been applied to a number of other areas of social interaction: parents influencing children (Rollins & Thomas, 1975), husbands and wives influencing another (Raven, Centers & Rodrigues, 1975), children influencing one another (Schmidt, Yanagihura, & Smith, 1987; Schmidt & Raven, 1985a,1985b); teachers influencing students (Jamieson & Thomas, 1974), doctors influencing patients (Rodin & Janis, 1982; Raven, 1988; Raven & Litman-Adizes, 1986), salesmen influencing customers (Busch & Wilson, 1976; Gaski, 1986), franchisors influencing franchisees (Hunt & Nevin, 1974), couples in sexual encounters (McCormick, 1979), political figures influencing one another (Gold & Raven, 1992; Raven, 1990; Rasinski, Tyler, & Fridkin, 1985), and, in quite a few studies, influence of supervisors in organizational settings (e.g., Abdalla, 1987; Ansari, 1988; Cobb, 1980; Cope, 1972; Frost, 1992; Frost & Stahelski, 1988; Hinkin & Schreischeim, 1990; Kabanoff, 1985; Melia-Navarro & Peiro-Silla, 1984; Podsakoff & Schriescheim, 1985; Shaw & Condelli, 1986;

Table 2

Further Differentiating the Bases of Social Power

Basis of Power	Further Differentiation
Coercion	Impersonal Coercion Personal Coercion
Reward	Impersonal Reward Personal Reward
Legitimacy	Formal Legitimacy Legitimacy of Reciprocity Legitimacy of Equity Legitimacy of Dependence (Powerless)
Expert	Positive Expert Negative Expert
Reference	Positive Referent Negative Referent
Informational	Direct Information Indirect Information

Sinha & Singh-Sengupta, 1991; Stahelski, Frost, & Patch, 1989; Student, 1968).

In the years that followed, the bases of social power model has developed substantially, benefiting from research and theoretical developments in various related fields-- cognitive social psychology, attitude and attitude change, and organizational psychology.

Further Differentiation and Elaboration

Though we still believe that most social influence can be understood in terms of the six bases of power, some of these bases have been elaborated and further differentiated.

Table 2 about here

Coercive Power and Reward Power. Going beyond tangible rewards and real physical threats, we have had to recognize that personal approval from someone whom we like can result in quite powerful reward power; and rejection or disapproval from someone whom we really like, can serve as a basis for powerful coercive power.

Legitimate Power. We have had to go beyond the legitimate power which comes from one's formal position and recognize other forms of legitimate power which may be more subtle, which draw on social norms such as (a) the legitimate power of reciprocity ("I did that for you, so you should feel obliged to do to this for me"). (Gouldner, 1960) b) Equity ("I have worked hard and suffered, so I have a right to ask you to do something to make up for it"). (Walster, Berscheid, & Walster, 1978) (c) Responsiblity or dependence, a norm which says that we have some

obligation to help others who cannot help themselves, others who are dependent upon us. (Berkowitz & Daniels, 1963) (This form of legitimate power has sometimes been referred to as the "power of the powerless".)

Expert Power and Referent Power. Both of these bases of power were originally examined only in their positive forms: A subordinate may do what his/her supervisor asks because he/she feels that the supervisor knows best, or because the supervisor is someone admirable and desirable--who knows, the subordinate may aspire to be a supervisor some day. But it had been observed that sometimes we may do exactly the opposite of what the influencing agent does or desires that we do. [What Hovland, Janis, & Kelley (1953) called the "boomerang effect."] Thus we incorporated into our system the concept of negative expert power and negative referent power.

Informational Power. Informational power, or persuasion, is based on the information, or logical argument, that the influencing agent could present to the target in order to implement change. However, information can sometimes be more effective if it is presented indirectly. The early research on the effectiveness of "overheard" communications, as compared to direct communications would seem to bear this out. (Walster & Festinger, 1962).

Invoking or reducing the power of third parties. Sometimes an influencing agent can bring about change in a target by invoking the power of third parties. Perhaps the supervisor could gain the assistance of a coworker to help persuade the recalcitrant worker. A mother may invoke the potential coercive power of the father--"Daddy is going to hear about this when he gets home." Or a fire-and-brimstone minister

may invoke the power of God who will punish transgressors. In a sense, some of the earlier methods utilized by Lewin (1952) and Coch and French (1948), in which group discussion and group decision were utilized to implement change, can be seen as utilizing the power of third parties.

The Mode of Influence. We have become increasingly aware of the fact that the effectiveness of an influence attempt, and the aftermath of influence, is a function not only of the basis of power but the mode, or manner, in which it is exerted. An influence attempt can be presented in a loud, forceful, threatening, or sarcastic mode, or in a softer, friendlier, light-humored mode. effects of informational influence can sometimes be enhanced, sometimes reduced, if it is presented in a threatening or fear-invoking manner, as, for example, the use of a fear-appeal by a physician who attempts to convince a patient to stop smoking. (Janis & Feshbach,1953; Sutton, 1982)

Table 3 about here

Preparatory Devices: Setting the Stage for Social Influence. It appears to me that at least some of the inconsistency in relating various studies of social power results from the confusion between use of various bases of power or indirect methods of influence, and the various stage-setting or preparatory devices which will allow for such bases of power to be effective.. As the influencing agent assesses his/her bases of power, s/he may decide that, yes, such a power resource might work, but not just yet. Some preparation may be necessary.

Table 3

Examples of Preparatory Devices for the Use of Social Power

Preparing the Stage or Scene

Displaying diplomas, library, photos with celebrities [Expert]
Wearing laboratory coat, stethoscope, etc. [Expert]
Arranging of podium, or desk, chairs... [Legitimate]

Enhancing or Emphasizing Power Bases

References to agent's ability to control rewards; punishments; to expertise; mutuality of interests (referent); formal role as supervisor, teacher, doctor, etc. (legitimate).
Ingratiation, via compliments, etc., to increase target's attraction to agent (personal reward, personal coercion, referent power).
Emphasing communality of background, identification, goals (referent)
Doing a favor for target, emphasizing one's dependence upon target, reference to some harm which target had imposed on agent (various forms of legitimate power).
Making a request which target would not be likely to accept, to induce guilt, in preparation for other request (legitimacy of equity)
Presenting background information, which can subsequently serve to inhance informational influence.

Minimizing Target

Subtle "put-downs" which decrease target's self-esteem, confidence, increase agent's informational, expert, or legitimate power.

Minimizing Opposing Influencing Agents

Reducing expertise, reference, legitimacy, etc., of others who may support the target's current position or mode of behavior.

Jones and Pittman (1982) describe a number of these "self-presentational strategies" as does Schlenker (1980) in his discussion of "impression management", devices to set the stage for the use of a particular power strategy.

Is it coercion? Then it may be important to demonstrate to the target that not only are the means available for coercion, but that the agent is ready and willing to pay the costs that coercion implies. ("Intimidation") Is it reward power? Then, again, the availability of rewards must be stressed. If it is personal reward or coercion--offering approval or threatening rejection--then the agent may first attempt to ingratiate her/himself with the target, with well-placed compliments, flatterv, etc. Similarly for referent power, the communality with the target must be demonstrated.

For expert power, a few choice demonstrations of one's superior knowledge would be useful, the supervisor might tell the worker of the amount of training and experience he has had on this and similar jobs. (What Jones & Pittman call "self-promotion.") (Physicians, attorneys, professors and other professionals go through elaborate stage-setting devices for expertise--display of diplomas, imposing libraries, etc.) Legitimate position power? The supervisor might subtly mention that he is, after all, the supervisor who is responsible for this job, or mention that he has helped the worker in the past and has a right to expect reciprocation. He may, indeed, do a favor for the worker, expecting that he could later invoke the reciprocity norm. Or, for legitimacy based on the equity norm, the supervisor might first want to instill a sense of

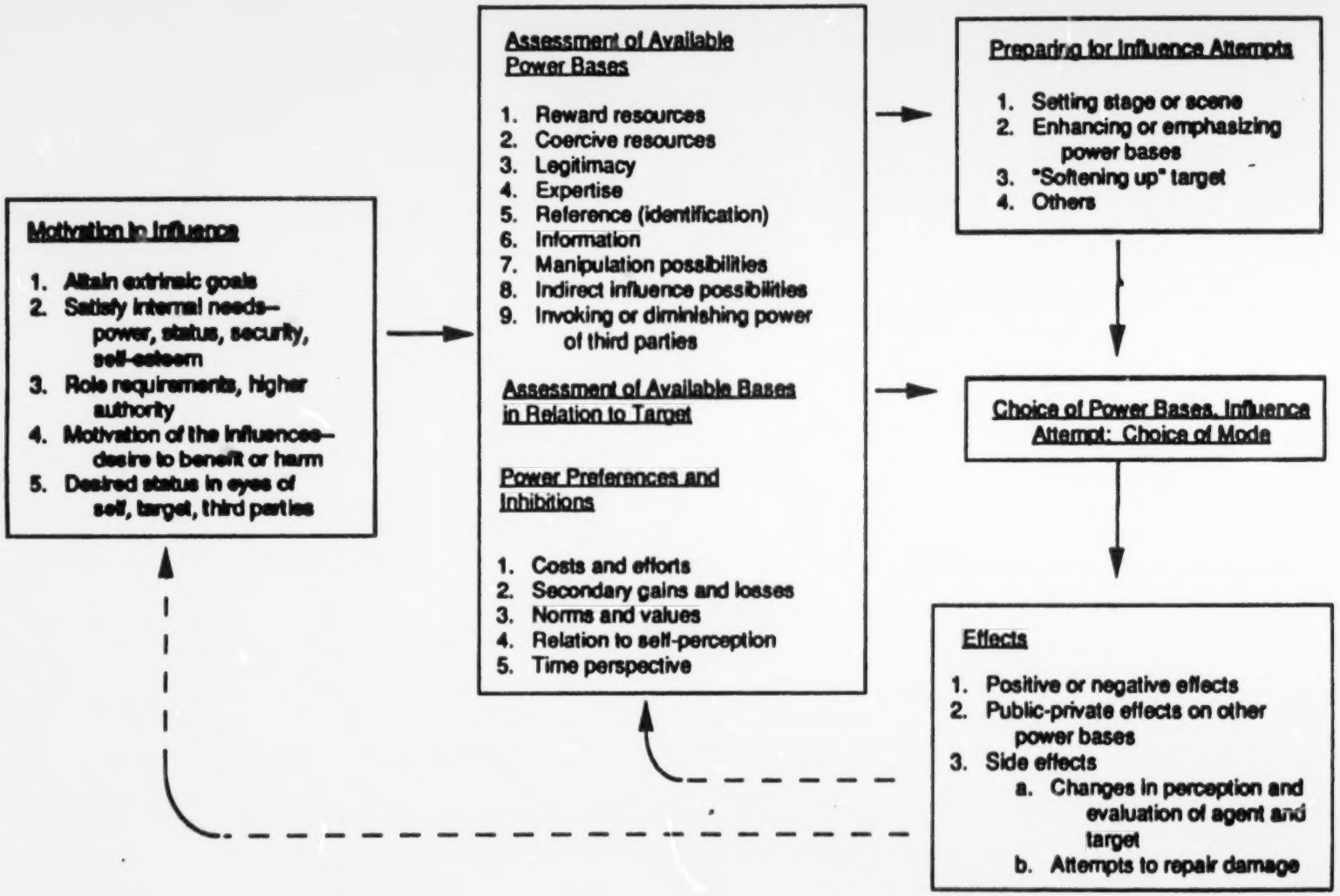
Motivation to Influence
1. Attain extrinsic goals
2. Satisfy internal needs—power, status, security, self-esteem
3. Role requirements, higher authority
4. Motivation of the influencee—desire to benefit or harm
5. Desired status in eyes of self, target, third parties
Assessment of Available Power Bases
1. Reward resources
2. Coercive resources
3. Legitimacy
4. Expertise
5. Reference (identification)
6. Information
7. Manipulation possibilities
8. Indirect influence possibilities
9. Invoking or diminishing power of third parties
Assessment of Available Bases in Relation to Target
Power Preferences and Inhibitions
1. Costs and efforts
2. Secondary gains and losses
3. Norms and values
4. Relation to self-perception
5. Time perspective
Preparing for Influence Attempts
1. Setting stage or scene
2. Enhancing or emphasizing power bases
3. "Softening up" target
4. Others
Choice of Power Bases, Influence Attempt: Choice of Mode
Effects
1. Positive or negative effects
2. Public-private effects on other power bases
3. Side effects
a. Changes in perception and evaluation of agent and target
b. Attempts to repair damage

Figure 4. MODEL OF POWER ACTION FROM PERSPECTIVE OF INFLUENCING AGENT

guilt ("Look at the problems you caused me when you were not able to come to work last week."). (Jones & Pittman's "exemplification.")

The Motivation to Influence. In our original formulation, French and I did not examine the motivation of the influencing agent in exerting influence--it seemed obvious that the motivation was the furtherance of some extrinsic goal, e.g., to increase productivity. However, other motives, less obvious, might also operate: Perhaps the satisfaction of some personal needs--a need for power? a need to enhance his self-esteem? a need to demonstrate his own independence? Or perhaps the major concern was to demonstrate to other workers or supervisors who was really the boss. [There is indeed some evidence that influencing agents who are lacking in self-confidence will be more likely to use "harder" forms of influence, such as coercion, even when information might be effective. (e.g., Kipnis, 1976; Raven, Freeman & Haley, 1982)

A Power/Interaction Model of Interpersonal Influence

In a recent publication, I have presented a power/interaction model demonstrating in broader scope of the use of power in interpersonal influence strategies. (Raven, 1992) In the figure displayed here we may see in the upper middle box, the bases of power and methods of influence which are available to the influencing agent.

Figure 4 about here

The Motivation to Influence. In the upper left corner of the chart, we now see the motivational factors which we have just considered. These then lead the agent to an assessment of the various bases of

power other forms of influence which might be available. In the upper middle, we then see the bases of power and other influence devices which might be in the his/her repertoire.

Assessment of Available Power Bases. Having determined what bases of power might be available, the target must assess these alternative courses to action in terms of whether they would be effective in implementing change--what is the likelihood that he would be successful or unsuccessful?

Assessment of the Costs of Differing Influence Strategies. The agent must also examine the costs of the influence attempt--it may be effective, but at what costs. Informational influence may require more time and effort than is available. Coercion, as we said, carries the costs of having to maintain surveillance, the hostility of an unhappy subordinate, and sometimes the violation of one's personal value system or generally accepted social norms. The legitimacy of dependence ("I need your help") may lead to loss of respect and perhaps may imply an obligation to return the favor...

Preparing for the Influence Attempt. It is at this point (see upper right of chart) that we bring in the various preparatory or stage-setting devices--ingratiation, setting the scene, emphasizing or enhancing the agent's power resources, diminishing the target or opposing influencing agents, etc.

Choice of Mode of influence. The agent may not only choose the power base, but also the power mode, the manner or tone in which influence is exerted. As we have noted, the mode of influence may sometimes be even more important that the basis of power.

Assessing the Effects of Influence. Following the influence attempt, the agent will want to assess the effects. Was it successful? Is there evidence that the target has actually accepted the influence, has actually altered his behavior in accordance with the outcome desired by the influencing agent. Does the target really accept the change personally, or is the change socially dependent? Is surveillance important for the change to continue--will the target revert to earlier behavior patterns as soon as the agent cannot continue to check on the degree of compliance? Will the target subsequently internalize the changes in his/her behavior?

If the influence attempt was unsuccessful, then it is likely that the agent will try again. But this time his/her motivations may change: Whereas previously he had merely wanted to achieve the extrinsic goal, he now may have developed some hostility toward the target, which in turn will affect his choice of influence strategy the second time around. The agent's success or failure will also lead to a reassessment of the

available bases of power and the development of a quite different strategy.

The Effects of Feedback. The effects of the influence attempt will then feedback to the agent, quite likely changing self-perceptions, perceptions of the target, changing the perception of the effectiveness, costs, and preferences of various social power and influence strategies..Thus the next influence attempt will likely be quite different.

We have thus far examined the Power/Action model from the perspective of the influencing agent. I have also examined it from the perspective of the target of influence, following essentially the same basic framework. (Raven, 1992)

SOME CURRENT APPLICATIONS

The model which I have presented above has now been applied in a number of settings:

Hospital Infection Control. In response to a request from our National Center for Disease Control to understand how hospitals could be more effective getting hospital staff members to follows proper procedures in patient care, so as to minimize risk of hospital patient's acquiring infections in the hospital. For this purpose, the bases of power model proved very useful. We could, indeed, characterize the influence techniques utilized by infection control nurses and medical epidemiologists according to the bases of power. From our analyses, we suggested ways in which infection control training could be improved. (Raven, Freeman; & Haley,1982)

Cross-cultural comparisons. We have been attempting to examine such differences through questionnaires. One of these, in which I have been collaborating with Joseph Schwarzwald and Meni Koslowski, of Bar Ilan University, Israel, and with Aroldo Rodrigues, of the National University in Rio de Janeiro, has been focusing on the development of a cross-culturally valid questionnaire. In addition, in an on-going study, Adeny Schmidt, several of students, and myself, have been working on a cartoon completion instrument to study the ways in which children of different ages and cultures attempt to influence one another. (Schmidt & Raven, 1985ab; Schmidt, Yanagihura, & Smith, 1987)

Power of political figures. We have recently been examining the power strategies used by political figures and have found the power/interaction model to be quite helpful. The motivational factors of the influencing agents, the careful selection and testing of power strategies, the preparatory and self-presentational devices, the effects of successive influence attempts on the relationships between the figures, all emerge in our analyses. In my discussion of the influence of Hitler in his confrontation with Austrian prime minister Von Schuschnigg, the stage-setting devices and use of feigned madness for intimidation were striking. In Truman's attempts to convince MacArthur to cease plans to cross the 38th parallel into North Korea, differing preparatory devices were utilized, and particularly various devices which Truman used to establish and maintain his legitimate position power. (Raven, 1990) Gregg Gold and I have examined the strategies used by Winston Churchill in World War II to induce Franklin Roosevelt to give Britain fifty old destroyers and commit the U.S. to more active alignment

with Britain. (Gold & Raven, 1992) Zbigniew Zaleski (1992) presents an analysis of the model applied to the analysis of changes in power relationships in Eastern Europe. His paper suggests that, in part, the disaster which shattered the idealistic socialism in Eastern Europe can be understood in terms of the metamorphic effects of power on the powerholder, as is described in greater detail by David Kipnis (1976).

Development of Consistent Measures and Definitions

Podsakoff and Schreischeim (1985) carried out a very thorough review of field studies in organizational settings which utilized the French and Raven bases of power. Their review was very complimentary with regard to the impact which the bases of power had had on organizational research. However, they also had some very important criticisms. One of their major concerns was that many of the investigators were defining the bases of power differently and there were further problems with their operational definitions. Thus, it was difficult to draw conclusions which integrate the results of these numerous studies. In order to at least maintain some consistency in conceptual definition in my own writings and those of people working with me, I have developed an extensive glossary of terms relating to interpersonal influence and social power, which is going through frequent amendations and revisions. (Raven, 1992)

The measurements which have been used are often problematic, based on single items scales, using ipsative (ranking) scales, which present serious psychometric problems. (Schriescheim, Hinkin, & Podsakoff, 1991) Clearly this is an area where research on the bases of power model is sorely needed.

There have been several noteworthy attempts to remedy these measurement problems (e.g., Falbo, 1977; Frost & Stahelski, 1988; Hinkin & Schriescheim, 1989; Imai, 1989; Schriescheim, Hinkin, & Podsakoff, 1991). We are currently exploring a series of scales which include the original six bases of power, plus the personal forms of reward and coercion, and the three additional forms of legitimate power (equity, reciprocity, and responsibility). The initial data on these scales are quite promising.

Summary

In this paper, I have attempted to trace the background and development of the bases of power approach which John R. P. French and I initiated so many years ago. I have also pointed out important new directions in the analysis of power. Certainly we cannot claim to have written the final chapters in the study of social power and interpersonal influence, and there are, of course, many important and significant works which have approached these issues from rather different directions. However, we hope that we have, at least, helped to develop some new directions and given additional meaning to a area of research and application which still stands among the most important in the field of social psychology. For his significant contributions to such developments, we owe special thanks to Jack French, for whose work in this and other areas he has most appropriately been honored with the Kurt Lewin Award.

References

Abdalla, I. A. H. (1987) Predictors of effectiveness of supervisory social power. Human Relations, 40, 721-740.

Ansari, M. A. (1988) Leadership styles and influence strategies: Moderating effects of organizational climate. Paper presented at the meetings of the XXIV International Congress of Psychology, Sydney, Australia.

Berkowitz, L., & Daniels, L. R. (1963) Responsibility and dependence. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 66, 429-436.

Busch, P., & Wilson, D.T. (1976) An experimental analysis of salesman's expert and referent bases of power in the buyer-seller dyad. Journal of Marketing Research, 13, 3-11.

Cartwright, D. (1959) Power: A neglected variable in social psychology. In D. Cartwright (Ed.), Studies in social power (pp. 1-14). Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research.

Cartwright, D. (1965) Influence, leadership, and control. In J. G. March (Ed.) Handbook of Organizations. Chicago: Rand McNally, Pp. 1-47.

Cobb, A. T. (1980) Informal influence in the formal organization: Perceived sources of power among work unit peers. Academy of Management Journal, 23 (1), 155-161.

Coch, L., & French, J. R. P., Jr. (1948) Overcoming resistance to change. Human Relations, 1, 512-532.

Cope, R. G. (1972) Bases of power, administrative preference, and job satisfaction: A situational approach. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 2, 457-465.

Festinger, L. (1950) Informal social communication. Psychological Review, 57, 271-292.

Festinger, L. (1953) An analysis of compliant behavior. In M. Sherif & M. O. Wilson (Eds.), Group relations at the crossroads. New York: Harper. Pp. 232-256.

Festinger, L. (1954) Theory of social comparison processes. Human Relations, 7, 117-140.

French, J. R. P., Jr. (1956) A formal theory of social power. Psychological Review, 63, 181-194.

French, J. R. P., Jr., & Raven, B. H. (1959). The bases of social power. In D. Cartwright (Ed.), Studies in social power (pp. 150-167). Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research.

Frost, D. E., & Stahelski, A. J. (1988) The systematic measurement of French & Raven's bases of social power in workgroups. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 18, 375-389.

Gaski, J. F. (1986) Interrelations among a channel entity's power sources: Impact of the exercises of reward and coercion on expert,

referent, and legitimate power sources. Journal of Marketing Research, 23, 62-77.

Gold, G. J., & Raven, B. H. (1992) Interpersonal influence strategies in the Churchill-Roosevelt bases for destroyers exchange. Journal of Social Behavior and Personality, 7, 245-272.

Gouldner, A. W. (1960) The norm of reciprocity: A preliminary statement. American Sociological Review, 35, 161-178.

Harary, F. (1959) A criterion of unanimity in French's theory of social power. In D. Cartwright (Ed.), Studies in social power (pp. 168-182). Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research.

Hinkin, T. R., & Schreischeim, C. A. (1990) Relations between subordinate perceptions of supervisor influence tactics and attributed bases of supervisory power. Human Relations, 43, 221-237.

Hovland, C. I., Janis, I. L., & Kelley, H. H. (1963) Communication and Persuasion. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

Hunt, S. D., & Nevin, J. R. (1974) Power in a channel of distribution: Sources and consequences. Journal of Marketing Research, 11, 186-193.

Hurwitz, J. I., Zander, A. F., & Hymovitch, B. (1953) Some effects of power on relations among group members. In D. Cartwright & A. F. Zander (Eds.) Group dynamics: Research and theory. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson. (Pp. 483-492).

Imai, Y. (1989) The relationship between perceived social power and the perception of being influenced. Japanese Psychological Record, 31, 97-107.

Jamieson, D. W., & Thomas, K. W. (1974) Power and conflict in the student-teacher relationship. Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 10, 321-336.

Janis, I. L., & Feshbach, S. (1953) Effects of fear-arousing communication. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 48, 78-92.

Johnson, P. (1976) Women and interpersonal power. In I. Frieze, P. Johnson, J.E. Parsons, D. N. Ruble, & G. L. Zellman (eds.) Women and sex roles: A social psychological perspective. New York: Norton.

Jones, E. E., & Pittman, T. S. (1982) Toward a general theory of strategic interaction. In J. Suls (Ed.) Psychological perspectives of self. (Vol. 1, pp. 231-263) Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Kabanoff, B. (1985) Potential influence structures as sources of interpersonal conflict in groups and organizations. Organisational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 36, 113-141.

Kipnis, D. (1976) The powerholders. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

Kruglanski, A. W. (1970) Some mechanisms of attributing trustworthiness in supervisor-worker relations. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 6, 214-232.

Lewin, K. (1935) A dynamic theory of personality. New York: McGraw Hill.

Lewin, K. (1951) Constructs in field theory. In K. Lewin (D. Cartwright, ed.) Field theory in social science: Selected theoretical papers. New York: Harpers. (Originally published in 1944)

Lewin, K. (1947) Frontiers in group dynamics. Human Relations, 1, 5-41.

Lewin, K. (1952) Group decision and social change. In G. E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, & E. L. Hartley (eds.) Readings in social psychology. 2nd ed., New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. Pp. 459-473.

Lippitt, R., Polansky, N., Redl, F., & Rosen, S. (1952) The dynamics of power.
Human Relations, 5, 37-64.

McCormick, N. B. (1979) Come-ons and put-offs: Unmarried students' strategies for having and avoiding sexual intercourse. Psychology of Women Quarterly, 4, 194-211.

Meliá-Navarro, J. L. (1988) A bifactorial theory of organizational power: Some empirical evidence for formal and informal power. Paper prepared for presentation at the meetings of the XXIV International Congress of Psychology, Sydney, Australia.

Meliá-Navarro, J. L., & Peiró-Silla, J. R. (1984) Perception de las relaciones de poder en ambientes organizaciones; Estudio empirico e impicaciones para un diseño de estructura de poder. Proceedings of 1 Congresso del Colegio Oficial de Psicologos, Madrid, Spain, pp. 135-144.

Merton, R. K. (1957) Social theory and social structure. (2nd ed.) Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

Newcomb, T. M. (1958) Attitude development as a function of reference groups. In E. E. Maccoby, T. M. Newcomb, & E. L. Hartley (Eds.) Readings in social psychology. (3rd ed.) New York: Holt. (Pp. 265-275)

Podsakoff, P. M., & Schriescheim, C. A. (1985) Field studies of French and Raven's bases of social power: Critique, reanalysis, and suggestions for future research. Psychological Bulletin, 97, 387-411.

Rasinski, K., Tyler, T. R., & Fridkin, K. (1985) Exploring the function of legitimacy: Mediating effects of personal and institutional legitimacy on leadership endorsement and system support. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 49, 395-407.

Raven, B. H. (1965). Social influence and power. In I. D. Steiner & M. Fishbein (Eds.), Current studies in social psychology. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston.

Raven, B. H. (1983). Interpersonal influence and social power. In B. H. Raven & J. Z. Rubin , Social psychology (pp. 399-444). New York: Wiley.

Raven, B. H. (1988) Social power and compliance in health care. In S. Maes, C. D. Spielberger, P. B. Defares, & I. G. Sarason (Eds.) Topics in Health Psychology. London/New York: Wiley.

Raven, B. H. (1990) Political applications of the psychology of interpersonal influence and social power. Political Psychology, 11, 493-520.

Raven, B.H. (1992) A power/interaction model of interpersonal influenc: French & Raven thiry years later. Journal of Social Behavior and Personality, 7, 217-244.

Raven, B. H., Centers, R., & Rodrigues, A. (1975) The bases of conjugal power. In R. S. Cromwell & D. H. Olson (Eds.) Power in families. New York: Sage.

Raven, B. H., Freeman, H. E., & Haley, R. W. (1982) Social power and compliance in hospital infection control. In A. W. Johnson, O. Grusky, & Raven, B. H. (Eds.), Contemporary health services: Social science perspectives. Boston: Auburn House. (Pp. 139-176)

Raven, B. H., & Kruglanski, A. W. (1970). Conflict and power. In P. G. Swingle (Ed.), The structure of conflict (pp. 69-109). New York: Academic Press.

Raven, B. H. & Litman-Adizes, T. (1986) Interpersonal influence and social power in health promotion. In Z. Salisbury, S. Kar, & J. Zapka (Eds.) Advances in Health Education and Promotion. JAI Press.

Rodin, J., & Janis, I. L. (1982) The social influence of physicians and other health care practitioners as agents of change. In H. S. Friedman & R. M. DiMatteo (Eds.) Interpersonal issues in health care. New York: Academic Press, pp. 33-50.

Rollins, B. C., & Thomas, D. W. (1975) A theory of parental power and compliance. In R. E. Cromwell & D.H. Olson (Eds.) Power in families. New York: Sage.

Schriesheim, C. A., Hinkin, T. R., & Podsakoff, P. M. (1991) Can ipsative and single-item measures produce erroneous results in field studies of French and Raven's (1959) five bases of power? An empirical investigation. Journal of Applied Psychology, 76, 106-114.

Schlenker, B. R. (1980) Impression management: The self-concept, social identity, and interpersonal relations. Monterey, Calif.: Brooks/Cole.

Schmidt, A., & Raven, B. H. (1985a) Children's cognitions of persuasion strategies and compliance. Paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Toronto.

Schmidt, A., & Raven, B. H. (1985b) Developmental changes in perception of persuasive strategies in children. Paper presented at the 93rd Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association.

Schmidt, A., Yanagihura, A., & Smith, R. (1987) Percepción del uso y los resultados de las bases del poder por los niños de tres culturas: Estados Unidos, Japón y Argentina. Paper presented at the XXI Interamerican Congress of Psychology, Havana, Cuba.

Shaw, J. I., & Condelli, L. (1986) Effects of compliance outcome and basis of power on the powerholder-target relationship. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 12, 236-246.

Sherif, M. (1936) The psychology of social norms. New York: Harper, 1936.

Sinha, J. B. P., & Singh-Sengupta, S. (1991) Relationship between managers' power and the perception of their non-managers' behavior. Indian Journal of Industrial Relations, 26, 341-351.

Stahelski, A. J., Frost, D. E., & Patch, M. E. (1989). Use of socially dependent bases of power: French and Raven's theory applied to workgroup leadership. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 19, 283-297.

Student, K. R. (1968) Supervisory influence and work group performance. Journal of Applied Psychology, 52, 188-194.

Sutton, S. R. (1982) Fear-arousing communications: A critical examination of theory and research. In J. R. Eiser (Ed.), Social Psychology and Behavioural Medicine. New York and London: Wiley, pp. 307-337.

Walster (Hatfield), E., & Festinger, L. (1962) The effectiveness of "overheard" persuasive communications. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 65, 395-402.

Walster (Hatfield), E., Walster, G. W., & Berscheid, E.(1978) Equity theory and research. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Weber, M. (1947) The theory of social and economic organization. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Winter, D. G. (1973) The power motive. New York: Free Press.

Zaleski, Z. (May, 1992) The effects of political change on power strategies and interpersonal influence in Eastern Europe. Paper presented at Annual Convention of the Western Psychological Association, Portland, OR.

Zander, A. F., & Cohen, A. R. (1955) Attributed social power and group acceptance: A classroom experimental demonstration. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 51, 490-492.

Zander, A. F., Cohen, A. R., & Stotland, E. (1959) Power and relations among professions. In D. Cartwright (Ed.), Studies in social power (pp. 15-34). Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research.